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REPORT

ON

ATTITUDE SURVEY
BIHAR COMMUNITY PROJECTS

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INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
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PREFACE

It may be asserted without any exaggeration that the Community Projects in India have truly a revolutionary programme. For their purpose is to effect a spiritual or a psychological change in the minds of the people. The programme is designed to inculcate amongst them the lessons of self-help and initiative or the development and transformation of the vast uninviting rural landscape into a rich and charming spectacle.

Fortunately, India has been not only a pioneer but also a leader in this movement, so full of potentiality for under-developed countries. The report of the United Nations on the Community Development Movement published in March, 1957 avers about India:

> "There is possibly no other country engaged in Community Development where as much knowledge and experience has been built and accumulated on the nature of the problems to be encountered and tackled at the more advanced stages of the fast advancing national programme . . . . . . a great deal of social invention and creative thinking has gone into the Community Development Movement in India."

This study aims to assess the changes effected in the traditional sentiments and notions of the people as a result of the physical changes in the social environment of the people in consequence of the inauguration of the Community Project Programme in the country. However, this study is confined only to four Community Projects and one Community Development Block in Bihar of the 1952-53 series. This is a pioneer study in a field charged with great significance to the future reconstruction of India.

The Survey was made possible by the generous grant of about rupees eleven thousand by the Government of Bihar to the Institute of Public Administration, Patna University, Patna.

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I am very much indebted to Prof. V. K. N. Menon, my predecessor, and now the Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, for planning and executing the field-work in connection with the Survey. The initial impetus to this Survey came largely, I believe, from him. I am also indebted to Mr. K. S. V. Raman, I.C.S., the then Development Commissioner (now the Chairman of the Bihar Public Service Commission) for the help and encouragement which he has given during the progress of this Survey. His incisive mind and a great fund of administrative knowledge and experience were of very great value to us in solving many of our difficulties. I am also indebted to Mr. B. D. Pande, I.C.S., the Development Commissioner, for his sustained interest. My thanks are also due to the Project Officials for co-operation and assistance during the field-work. I am also indebted to my colleagues Prof. D. N. Lal and Prof. K. C. Zachariah of the Statistics Department, Patna University, for the rendition of technical help by way of getting the data tabulated and analyzed. And above all, I am indebted to my colleagues of the Institute of Public Administration, Patna University, for the execution of the field-work under a very trying summer. My part in this work has been that of supervision, after the departure of Prof. V. K. N. Menon, and of editing and finalising the report. However, it is truly a joint work—a production of the Institute.

P. S. Muhar,
M.A., Ph.D. (Harvard),
Director.

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CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE OF THE SURVEY

The Community Project Programme in India is continuously being evaluated by an independent agency, namely, the Programme Evaluation Organisation under the Planning Commission. Its main purpose was to keep people informed about the progress of Community Projects. The studies which it made were based on "reports of current and special enquiries" conducted through the Organisation's representatives stationed at several places scattered all over the country and "on the results of observations and consultations held by its officers with several people in all parts of the country". Its reports always bring out some interesting facts on the different aspects of the programme. They indicate where the programme has succeeded, and where it has fallen short of expectations. Thus the reports always contain some suggestions to modify the programme so as to suit the varying conditions. Reading these reports one will be left in no doubt that in the Community Project areas, a favourable psychological climate has already been created; that many physical impediments to progress have been removed; that positive improvements have been made in the fields of education, health, sanitation, communication and agricultural practices; and that people have convincingly demonstrated their desire for progress and have responded by contributing voluntarily their share in the development programmes, at least for those measures about whose utility they are convinced. The Community Projects have created confidence among people in the Government's genuine interest in their betterment and especially in their own capacity to organise themselves for collective efforts. Significant progress has been made in the adoption of improved seeds and fertilizers.

But the comments of the Programme Evaluation Organisation were not always complimentary. It has brought out fully the limitations of the programme in the fields of cottage industries, co-operative societies and Gram Panchayats. However, its emphasis always has been on the measurement of the tangible physical targets achieved by the Community Projects but not on the assessment of the intangible but really vital change in the traditional feelings and sentiments of the people.

Its conclusions are based, as mentioned earlier, upon observations made throughout the country and are, therefore, inadequate for a more intensive evaluation of a particular project or a group of projects. This is all the more so because of the method of collection of data on which the reports are mainly based. In Bihar, for example, the Programme Evaluation Organisation has its agent at only one centre. Even in this centre the number of villages included in the sample is very small and the same sample was used for a number of years. Of course, it is true that the officer in-charge visits other projects also but his scope of observation is very much limited. The conclusions are based mainly on published statistics—statistics such as the number of wells constructed, length of roads made *pucca*, number of schools and hospitals started, area of land brought under irrigation, co-operative societies started, seeds and fertilizers distributed and the amount of labour and money contributed by the public. These statistics are maintained at all the project offices, and if they are accurate, they are an important source of data for an objective evaluation of the work done by the project. Since a systematic verification of the project records was never a part of this investigation, it is not possible to say how far they are accurate. In the course of our investigations, it was found that these records were not entirely accurate. For example, a number of wells which

were merely renovated were recorded as newly constructed. In the statistics of the Bhabua-Mohania-Sasaram Project also it appears that there are quite a few mistakes.

Physical achievements, as revealed by these statistics, are only a means to an end—a means to make the villagers realise that there are better ways of living, to make them feel that they are capable of achieving them, and to educate them in the methods of attaining them. The ultimate object, of course, is to transform the whole outlook of the villagers so as to make them desire progress and prosperity. As the Programme Evaluation Organisation remarks, "The plan in its essence is not a plan of appointing a certain number of officers bearing certain names, or even of achieving a series of physical targets. The plan is to set free the creative energies of the people so that they may build up through their own efforts and through their own institutions a richer and improving social life. Here the goal is essentially cultural and moral, though it has a physical basis and content."

Thus, from an examination of physical achievements alone one cannot get any indication as to the success or failure of the programme. This is only one side of the picture—the less important one. The more important side is, whether the people are educated in the new way of life. This is not indicated by the physical achievements, though, perhaps, people's contribution to the programme may give an indication of it. Physical achievements, again, do not indicate whether anything permanent has taken place in the people's mind. It does not indicate whether, when the Government aid is reduced or stopped, the people will be able to continue development work in their areas. It does not show whether the Community Project Programme has gradually been transformed from a Government's to a people's programme. A correct evaluation consists in examining whether the Community Project Programme

has achieved this particular object. This will show whether the foundation for the development work in the rural areas was laid upon a rock or on the sands, this will decide whether, "when the rain descends, and the flood comes and the wind blows", the house will fall or not.

The Attitude Survey is concerned only with this aspect of evaluation. It tackles only one aspect, though a very important one. It is a new aspect under our investigation, one which is not included in the other evaluation programmes. Attitudes are a better index of mental changes than physical targets.

A Research Institute under a University is eminently suitable for a survey of this type. It is a competent body, it is capable of taking a completely independent outlook, it has no preconceived notions and, above all, its findings will be taken seriously by everyone, both the Government and the public.

The distinctive characteristic of the Attitude Survey is its technique of collecting data for the purpose of evaluation. The data consist of opinions of a large number of villagers living in the Community Project areas on a number of queries put to them. Collection of statistics has never been a part of this survey. Its main object was to find what the people feel about the changes taking place around them. So many things are done for them, but what is their reaction? The effect of a medicine which is administered to a patient can be studied in two ways. A doctor can examine him and comparing his present condition with his plight before the medicine was administered, it is possible for him to give his verdict. This is based on physical observation. Alternatively, the patient himself may be asked to give his verdict. This is based on what he feels and it certainly involves some subjective element.

The patient may be a good judge or a poor one, his findings may be correct or wrong. But whatever it be, his answer is also important. The patient alone can tell what he feels. Even if he is cured, if the treatment failed to make him realise that he is cured, that treatment was not fully effective. The patient also must feel that he is perfectly cured. Not only that, he should also be taught how to maintain his newly acquired health. Then and then only, the treatment is of some permanent value. Here, the problem is not *physical* but essentially *psychological*. The psychology of the man who is interviewed is revealed, to a considerable extent, in the answers he gives. His whole reaction to the Community Project Programme is manifested through his response to the questions. Here we deal with human beings direct. We give the man a chance to think and reveal what is in his inner thoughts. Figures one can have from the project office, but these reactions of the people we can have only by meeting them, talking to them, and recording what comes out of their heart.

Attitude Surveys, though complex, are complementary to more objective surveys. The nature of answers we get in such a survey depends on the mood of the interviewers, that of the respondents and their interactions. Unless the investigators are well-trained, there is a great danger of getting widely different answers for the same question from the same man on two different occasions. This is not the only difficulty. The interpretation of the data is much more complex.

The answer given by the people is only their personal opinion, which may or may not be correct. It is just what they feel. It may be possible to find what people feel about improvement in educational facilities. This also is not straightforward. We have to resort to probability laws in the interpretation of the data. The absolute certainty in the minds of

the people about the changes that have taken place around them is the result of an assemblage of concurring and converging probabilities. A probability which does not reach a logical certainty may suffice for a mental certitude and that the certitude thus brought about may equal in measure and strength to the certitude which is created by the strictest scientific demonstration. Moreover, as there are probabilities which are sufficient for certitude, so there are other probabilities which are adopted to create about a fact—an opinion of definite strength and consistency. This graduated scale of the strength of opinion in a person cannot be measured if he is merely asked to say 'yes' or 'no', but that of a group of people may be reflected in the frequency distribution of the answers they give. The scale of measurement obviously cannot be as sensitive as the one used in physical measurement. In spite of these difficulties we decided in favour of a purely Attitude Survey because of its novelty and great potentialities.

CHAPTER II

THE DESIGN OF THE SURVEY, METHOD OF ENQUIRY AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The design of a survey is determined to a great extent by the object of the survey, the materials to be covered and the manner in which they are distributed. The object of this survey was to study the reactions of the people living in the Community Project areas towards programmes carried out in their villages. The 'Universe' consisted of the adult population living in the five original Community Project areas in Bihar. These projects were divided into 13 Blocks, each consisting of over 100 villages and nearly a lakh of people. The table below gives a more detailed picture of the materials covered in the survey.

TABLE I

Table showing Districts, Blocks, Number of Villages, Adult Population and Area covered by the different Projects.

Projects	Districts	Blocks	No. of villages	Estimated No. of Adults	Area (in sq. miles)
Biharsharif	Patna, Monghyr	Biharsharif, Ekangarsarai, Barbigha	347	168,810	269
Pusa	Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga	Pusa, Samastipur, Sakra	320	153,000	271
Sasaram	Shahabad	Sasaram, Bhabua, Kudra	628	127,540	443
Ranchi	Ranchi	Ranchi, Mandar, Ormanjhi	377	106,590	470
Raneshwar	Dumka	Raneshwar	132	48,960	144

Some of the other factors which were taken into consideration in deciding the design of the survey are given below:

(i) Information was required Block-wise, project-wise and for the State as a whole.

(ii) The villages in the Blocks were far apart and majority of them were not approachable on jeep during rainy season.

(iii) Repeated calls at a village were impossible due to the shortage of persons and vehicles.

(iv) The projects were located at great distances.

On the basis of these factors, a tentative programme was drawn up for collecting the necessary information. It was decided to interview about one per cent of the adult population of the project areas. The thirteen Blocks were treated as thirteen strata for sampling purpose. The list of villages in each Block was easily available and from each Block about 20 per cent of the villages were selected by the method of simple random sampling. In certain Blocks the number of villages was much greater than the normal, even though the total population was more or less the same. This necessitated an increase in the number of villages to be selected to keep the same percentage. It required more travelling and more investigators. To aviod this, adjoining smaller villages were combined to form village groups and these clusters of villages were treated as the units for sampling. The number of village groups in each Block was nearly a hundred.

The selection of villages (village groups) was strictly random. A simple random sample of 20 to 30 villages from each Block constituted the sample. The sampling was done independently in the different Blocks. From the selected villages a systematic selection of 20 heads of the families was made. The frame used for this purpose was the house-list maintained by the Village Level Workers, The systematic selection was

unavoidable because the investigators could not have been trained adequately in the use of random number within the short time available for training. This, in any case, could not have introduced any bias, because systematic selection was almost equivalent to random selection for the list itself was prepared without any regularity.

Thus the procedure proposed could be considered as a stratified multi-stage sampling; the Blocks were the strata, the villages were the primary units, and the heads of the families the secondary units.

This method was tried in 20 villages in the Biharsharif Block. A number of difficulties and a few defects cropped up in the course of its practical application. Some of the most important of these are given below:

(i) The register kept by the Village Level Workers gives only the names of the heads of the families who are generally old men and does not include women and other male members of the family. In this survey it was required to include all adult members of the family.

(ii) In a number of instances it was found that the Village Level Workers' register had all the usual defects of a bad frame, inaccuracy, incompleteness and inadequacy.

(iii) The use of Village Level Workers' register was possible ordinarily only with the knowledge of the Village Level Workers. Being an Attitude Survey, it was necessary in this case to keep the enquiry as much of a surprise as possible. The position of the Village Level Workers in most of the villages was such that with a slight effort the 'inspector saheb' could make the villagers give answers of his own liking. This was not merely a possibility but what actually took place in the Block where the scheme was worked out. Even the presence of any

Block official in the village could affect the results of investigation appreciably.

(iv) Strict sampling requires invariably some 'call-backs'. In a survey of this sort, where the investigators sometimes had to travel ten to twenty miles in jeep and three to four miles on foot, to go again to a village simply because one or two persons could not be contacted at the first instance was not a very easy job, and even if it was done it would have been a waste of the limited resources. Some of the people included in a random sample might be away from the village for months together and it was practically impossible to wait for them. The percentage of "call-backs" would have been above twenty.

(v) In many of the villages, especially the smaller ones, individual interview was found to be very difficult. A large number of people collected together and whenever a particular question was asked to an individual a number of people burst out with a plethora of suggestions before the person concerned could give his answer. The result was that the answers could not be taken to be that of a particular individual, but that of a group. However, there is nothing particularly wrong in this because the questions were not very 'personal' and the object of the survey was only to get the general opinion. There was, of course, one danger. The presence of some big-shot in the village might influence the answers given by the poorer people. This was avoided without much difficulty because, in general, people belonging to the same strata of society only collected together.

(vi) The number of people who could be interviewed per day by one individual was found to be not more than eight. With the conveyance available no investigator could visit more than one village per day. As a consequence, the number of persons to be investigated per village could only be some multiple of eight. This made a big restriction.

(vii) With fourteen Investigators, four Supervisors and two vehicles the survey could not have been finished in eight weeks time had this scheme been followed.

(viii) There was only one Statistician in the field, and it was impossible for him to visit every village, take the sample of households, and assign the work to the different investigators every day.

In addition to these defects and difficulties, a very important factor regarding the variability of the answers became apparent from the 'Pilot Enquiry'. People of the same social status in a village tended to give the same answers and, therefore, there was no point in taking a large number of people of the same status from the same village. As a consequence, it was found that the efficiency of the survey could be very much improved by including more villages and less number of persons per village. Because of the same reason strict random selection within a group of the same social status was found to be not indispensable. If random selection could be avoided it was found that the survey could be carried out more quickly and that too without the help of the Village Level Workers or any other official of the Community Project.

On the basis of all these findings, the sampling scheme was modified a little. It was decided to reduce the number of people per village to be interviewed and to increase the proportion of villages in the sample. The villages were selected strictly on random basis as given previously. This was very important because the greater part of the variability was accounted for by variation between villages. But the selection of people within a village was made purposive. The decision was made partly because of the negligible variability between the answers given by the people of same social status, and mostly because otherwise the survey could not have been carried out even within double the time allotted with the men available for the work.

The investigator went to the selected villages and spent about an hour in ascertaining the approximate proportion of people in the different communities, castes, and other social and economic groups. The total number of people to be selected from that village was distributed in proportion to the strength of the different groups. To carry out such a distribution exactly was really difficult and required a lot of data, but an approximation was possible without much difficulty. Since the total was not more than sixteen, the approximate values would be near the true values. A certain number of women from each village were always included in the sample.

The investigators went to the villages at about 10 in the morning and returned at about 5-30 to 6 in the evening. The time taken for one interview ranged from 30 to 40 minutes. In each interview ten to fifteen minutes were spent in explaining the purpose of the enquiry, the agency they represent, and in creating a favourable atmosphere for the interviews. The interview was done, as far as possible, individually. But where this was not possible it was done in the presence of others, but never in the presence of project officials. The villagers were particularly told that the investigation was done under the auspices of the University and that it had nothing to do with Government at any level.

It can be said with the utmost confidence that the maximum amount of surprise could be maintained throughout the enquiry. The project officers came to know of the enquiry only a day before the team visited the place. Similarly, the block officers were informed only at the last moment. The Village Level Workers and other officials were never informed at all. The names of the selected villages were known only to the field statistician and the project officials were informed only when the investigation was over. The villages were located

on the day of investigation with the help of the driver of the jeep in which the investigators were taken to the different villages.

Method of Enquiry

The only method available for a survey of this sort is the interview method. Other methods though simpler and less expensive are not practicable in Indian villages, as a majority of them are illiterate and cannot comprehend the meaning of such investigations.

A schedule was drafted and fully discussed with the teachers of the University, especially with the teachers of the Department of Statistics, and the then Development Commissioner, Mr. K. S. V. Raman. The draft questions were tried in a few villages to test whether the villagers follow the questions in the sense that was intended of them. One or two questions, it was found, required modification, and they were modified. Still there was one question (A.10) which quite a few of them did not understand properly. The schedule was printed in English and a Hindi translation was cyclostyled and a few copies given to each investigator and supervisor. This was meant to help the field staff in putting the questions correctly in the sense that was intended by its framers.

The questions were drafted with the object of evaluating the attitude of the people to three major items:—

(i) Community-mindedness;

(ii) Special Social Reforms;

(iii) Technological change recommended by the Community Projects Administration.

In each of these, there is a certain amount of vagueness. Community-mindedness in a group of people is revealed by their behaviour in society. It may be measured indirectly by

finding how they keep their surroundings neat and clean, how they care for beggars, disabled persons and how they contribute to the development programmes of their area.

Social prejudices which were particularly prevalent in this part of the country only were included.

Technological advantages were considered mainly with respect to agriculture, and cottage industries. The attitude of the people towards new methods in agriculture and animal husbandry was studied by enquiring how often they made use of the new techniques and their reason for using or not using them.

Ten questions consisting of 30 parts were asked on Community-mindedness; two questions with eight parts on social prejudices; and four questions with ten parts on technological advantages from Community Projects were included. The full schedule is reproduced in Appendix I of this Report. The questions were simple and easily understood by the villagers when they were properly explained to them.

The investigation was done by fourteen full-time investigators under four Supervisors. Most of them were M.A. students, and some who had already taken their degrees. All of them were quite familiar with life in Bihar villages. They were given necessary training just before the commencement of the investigation. The training included a full discussion of the schedule, the possible difficulties that they might face in filling up the questions, and also the method of introducing themselves to the villagers. In the course of the survey a few more difficulties cropped up. They were fully discussed and necessary instructions were given as the survey proceeded.

Unfortunately, monsoon broke out just when the investigation was started. Village roads became veritable ditches at

several places and movements even within the village were found to be difficult. At Barbigha, the bridge gave way at the first rain and the investigators could not cross the bridge and extend the investigation on the other side of the river. The summer vacation which was selected for the survey for the convenience of the teachers and students turned out to be the worst possible time for any investigation in the villages.

Language was another sore point. There was very little difficulty at Biharsharif and Pusa. But as they passed from Pusa to Sasaram, Ranchi and Raneshwar, the investigators found it more and more difficult to convey their ideas to the villagers.

The project officials at all places were ready to lend full co-operation for the investigation. In fact, but for their co-operation the investigation could not have been carried out. In one place the co-operation was too much and we were forced to decline a few of their offers, lest the villagers should be influenced. But towards the end of the survey when the projects were reverted to separate Blocks there were some difficulties in getting vehicles and other necessities. The most difficult thing to be arranged was food and lodging for such a large number.

The people, in general, responded very well. Once they were convinced about the main object of the investigations they were only too glad to co-operate with the investigators. But it appeared in a ew villages that people were tired of outsiders coming and asking them all sorts of questions. A few of them were even hostile to the workers. This was particularly so in Bhabua Block. One man even objected to the driving of jeep on their road because, according to him, the road was constructed for their use and not meant for others!

Extensive tabulation was undertaken immediately after the field-work. This was done mostly by the students of the Department of Statistics.

For most of the questions the answers were either 'much', 'some' or 'nil'. In a few they were 'yes' or 'no'.

The main purpose of tabulation was to find the frequency of people who answered 'much', 'some', 'nil' (or other answers in the case of other questions) for each village, for each Block, for each project, and for the State as a whole. This was a simple procedure, though very lengthy. There were over fifty questions which were required to be tabulated like this and it was found that on an average one person working full time could finish only four to five villages per day. But such extensive tabulation was found to be very much useful in bringing out the full information contained in the data.

The schedules were classified according to six characteristics of the respondents. They were sex, religion and caste, ownership of land, literacy, income and age. Tabulation was done according to each of these characteristics and tables were prepared for each characteristic, village-wise, Block-wise, project-wise, and for the State as a whole.

TABLE II

Table showing the Responses of 1,000 persons to each Question.

QUESTIONS	ANSWERS Much	Some	Nil	QUESTIONS	ANSWERS Much	Some	Nil
A. 1. Improvement in							
Cleanliness	80	399	521	B. 1. Has the feeling against the following changed due to Community Project?			
Health	48	517	435				
Education facilities	242	384	374				
Neighbourliness	34	352	614				
Self-help & initiative	42	301	657				
Roads and Lanes	149	423	428	Purdah	48	207	745
Drinking-water supply	186	567	247				
Irrigational works	64	304	632	Early Marriage	87	283	630
Crop-production	38	266	696	Widow Marriage	34	102	864
				Dowry System	40	96	864

Level of living	13	248	739

A. 3. Participation of women	71	324	605
The poor villagers	406	469	125
The backward class	386	466	148

A. 8. Have these been successful?

Co-operative Societies	93	455	452
Gram Panchayats	168	518	314

	Yes	No
A. 5. Do you think that you will be able to continue development work when the Government aid is reduced?	280	720
C. P. began as Govt. activity with public support, now it is said to be public activity with Govt. aid. Do you agree?	419	581
B. 2. Do you think there is the same belief as before that epidemics etc. are due to—		
(a) Evil spirits	526	474
(b) Fate	808	192
C. 1. Do you make use of the following?		
1. Improved seeds	206	794
2. Scientific Impliments	49	951
3. Fertilizers	341	659
4. Artificial insemination of cattle	126	874
5. Veterinary aids	373	627

Female Education	77	403	520
Inter-caste jealousies	41	245	714

C. 3. To what extent the following were helpful?

Demonstration	47	337	616
Exhibitions	19	298	683
Audio-visual aids	34	357	609

A. 4. Has anything been done to—

	Yes	No
Beggars	45	955
Disabled persons	42	958
Orphans	41	959
C. 4. Is the employment position better now than before Community Project?	283	717

	Eln.	Nomn.
A. 7. Do you like leadership by election or nomination?	740	260

Are your village leaders in their position because of—

	Frequency
(a) Age	51
(b) Caste	108
(c) Wealth	253
(d) Education	247
(e) Official support	62
(f) Honesty	279

Are the improvements due to—

(a) Community as a whole	437
(b) Leadership of a few	238
(c) Official activity	325

Method of Interpretation of the Data

The physical targets attained constitute, of course, an index of the physical progress achieved but unfortunately they furnish no clue as to the psychological transformation of the people affected by the schemes. The 1,000 answers by 1,000 people are 1,000 opinions about the improvement in cleanliness, for instance. Genuine difference of opinion can occur regarding this matter. The necessary limits of human frailty should be taken into consideration. Nobody knows with exact logical certainty as to what the true answer is. The true answer in this case is the one obtained by applying a certain previously accepted scale of measurement. The opinion of a particular person is mainly determined by the true answer, but it can take any one of a set of a graduated scale. The probability that a man will give a particular answer varies from answer to answer. The true answer has got maximum probability, and that the further an answer is from the true answer on either side, the less will be its probability. If these assumptions are true it is only one step to see that the probability of these different answers is given by the relative frequency of people who give those answers, and that the answer which has got maximum frequency is in all likelihood the true answer. In this method of finding the true answer, we are not arriving at something with logical certainty, but in life, more often than not, one has to be satisfied with such probability for a mental certitude, or at least for forming an opinion of a definite strength and consistency.

The question asked was whether there had been any improvement in cleanliness in the village due to the Community Project Programme. There was no provision to the answer that there has been some deterioration because the answers were limited to 'much', 'some' or 'nil'. The case of 'deterioration' and 'no change' was included in the same answer 'nil'. If

the alternative answers were 'Improved', 'Not Improved' and 'Deteriorated', it could have been easier to draw conclusions about what the people had felt about the improvement. And if their opinions were in agreement with what actually took place, it could have been possible to conclude that there had really been some improvement in the village or Block-wise. In the absence of these three distinct answers still something can be done. The people who answered 'nil' can safely be considered as those who would have answered either of the two, 'not improved' or 'deteriorated'. Therefore, if those who said 'most' or 'some' are much more than those who said 'nil', then certainly, the former number will be more than those who would have answered 'deteriorated'. But in this procedure, if the conclusion is in the affirmative, there is no doubt about that. On the other hand, if it is negative, it need not be correct always. If it is not necessary to take into consideration the possibility of a deterioration—such villages will be extremely rare—or if only a few have answered 'yes', that is sufficient to show that there has been some improvement in the village. This last point also is taken into consideration in the interpretation of the data.

There is still one more point to be considered. The above analysis assumed that all the people in the village were asked about their opinion. But actually only a few of them were asked. And these few were not selected strictly at random, even though they were selected with care to represent the whole village. Moreover, the main units of study were the Blocks, projects and the State as a whole. Even though all the projects and Blocks were included in the sample only about 20 per cent of the villages in each Block were included. Certainly the results depend on which villages were selected, and who were the people included in the sample. The possible changes in the answers due to changes in the

group of people selected to represent them can be studied accurately if the sampling adopted were strictly random. Even though the sampling adopted for this survey was not strictly random, there is no reason to believe that it would behave differently from a random sample. Therefore, the formula corresponding to random sampling was used in this case.

If n_1 and n_2 $(n_1+n_2=n)$ are the frequencies of people who answered 'much' or 'some' and 'nil' (or 'yes' and 'no' in the case of other questions) respectively, the difference (n_1-n_2) was treated as not due to the particular sample if $(n_1-n_2) > \sqrt{n}$. In the rule it is necessary that n should be fairly large preferably above 100. Even if n is large it is not possible to give exactly the degree of belief attached to this law, because of the non-randomness of the sample. If $d=(n_1-\frac{n}{2})$ it is possible to find a 'd' for any given 'n' such that if the observed difference is more than 'd' then such a difference is considered as not due to the peculiarity of the particular sample. On the other hand, if the observed difference is less than 'd', interpretation is more difficult. If we assume that nobody would have said 'deteriorated', then, even if there were only a few who answered 'improved', the conclusion should be 'improved'. As a compromise we frame the following rules:

(i) If $n_1 > n_2$ and (n_1-n_2) is significant in the sense given above, then the conclusion is that the people feel that cleanliness has improved in the village due to Community Project Programmes.

(ii) If $n_2 > n_1$ and (n_2-n_1) is significant, then the conclusion is that the people do not feel that there has been any improvement in cleanliness. It does not, however, mean that nothing has been done.

(iii) In all other cases, the interpretation is that the people are undecided, something has been done, but not sufficient to create an opinion of significant strength.

To Summarise this Section

1. The answers given by the people are taken as their opinion on the improvement of cleanliness in their village which may not always agree with the actual state of affairs.

2. Assuming that the correct answer has the maximum chance of being given by any individual, we conclude that the answer which has got the significantly highest frequency is the right answer.

3. If we assume that people, in general, give an unbiased opinion, the answers arrived at in (2) give the actual condition of the village.

From on-the-spot observation of some of the villages, and a comparison of its state with the frequencies obtained, it appears that there is nothing wrong in this assumption, at least, for most of the questions that were asked. This is further substantiated by a study of the published statistics of the Blocks.

4. Even though the sampling adopted was not strictly random, formulae based on random sampling were used to find the significantly highest frequency. As a consequence of the non-randomness of the sample, we cannot measure accurately the degree of belief in the significance.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY-MINDEDNESS

The presence of Community-mindedness amongst the people was sought to be elicited by asking the villagers whether there had been, 'much', 'some' or 'nil' progress in cleanliness, health, educational facilities, neighbourliness, generation of self-help and initiative, improvements in roads and lanes, drinking-water supply, standard of living, irrigation works and crop-production. For all these are essentially social phenomena, involving corporate effort, which could only flourish if the necessity for these had actually been felt by the people. Favourable answers to all these questions would clearly indicate the generation of a General or Social Will or the existence of Community-mindedness.

There is no doubt that a good deal has been done by Community Project agency in the field of agriculture with a view to increase the yield per acre. It will be rather disappointing if, in spite cf all these, the people feel that the new methods could not improve the crop-production. The reasons for this are not very clear. It is interesting to note that the percentage of people who are making use of improved seeds and fertilizers is almost the same as of those who answered that there had been improvement in crop-production. Therefore, one of the reasons may be that most of the people are not making the use of the facilities provided by the Community Projects.

The following table shows how far this explanation is correct.

TABLE III

(This table was prepared by taking 50 per cent sub-sample.)

Table showing the responses of 1851 persons who are or are not using Seeds and Fertilizers about increase or decrease in crop-production.

	No. of people making use of improved seeds and fertilizer	No. of people not making use of seeds & fertilizer	Total number of people
No. who answered that crop-production has increased	415	268	683
No. who said that crop-production has not increased	322	846	1,168
Total	737	1,114	1,851

From this table it is evident that the answer for the question "Has there been improvement in crop-production?" is not independent of the answer to the question "Are you making use of improved seeds or fertilizer?". Those who were making use of improved seeds or fertilizers in general (56 per cent) answered that crop-production had improved. And those who were not making use of these facilities on an average (76 per cent) answered that crop-production had not improved. About two-third of the people are not making use of either improved seeds or fertilizers. Therefore, a good majority of them are not availing of the facilities offered by the Community Projects. A relative question may be asked as to whether the people are not convinced about the usefulness of the improved seeds and fertilizers in the improvement

of crop-production and, therefore, they are not making use of them, or are they not making use of them because of some other reasons? This query is easily answered by examining the reasons why people are not making use of improved seeds and fertilizers.

Table XII throws more light on this question. Due to the absence or non-availability of land about two-thirds of the people are not making use of the facilities offered by the Community Projects and, as a consequence, a majority of them do not think that crop-production has improved due to Community Project work. It is important to note that among the people who are not making use of these facilities only a very negligible percentage do so because they regard them as useless.

This reason alone, however, does not completely explain the position. Even among the people who were making use of these facilities, about 44 per cent do not think that crop-production has improved. This is not too small a percentage to be neglected. Therefore, there must be other reasons for this unhappy position. Another possible reason is that the Community Project agency in their anxiety to popularise new seeds and fertilizers promised spectacular improvements in yield, but the results were not as they had predicted. Again, the distribution of fertilizers depends on the time and amount of rainfall. Where irrigational facilities are inadequate, chemical fertilizers are of limited value, unless the lack of irrigational water is compensated by rain-water. A more planned programme of simultaneous improvement of irrigational facilities and supply of fertilizers may improve the situation.

The answers to other questions, viz., on cleanliness, self-help and initiative, neighbourliness, and the standard of living, about whose improvement the people are not convinced, are more subjective and, perhaps, point only to the absence of complete satisfaction in the achievements of the Community

Projects. To conclude from these figures that no improvement has been achieved will not be correct. In fact, more people have said that there has been 'much' improvement in cleanliness than health. As explained earlier, even if only a few have answered that there has been improvement and if their answers are unbiased, that is sufficient to conclude that there has been improvement if we exclude the possibility of deterioration. Therefore, the answers show only that the changes in these cases were not so much significant as to satisfy the most of the people.

Group Variation

What we have discussed so far is only the general feeling of the people. On certain items they have felt the changes and on certain others they have not. Who are the people who have felt the changes, and who are they who have not? The answer to this question will throw more light on the work of the Community Projects. The result of the analysis is summarized in Table IV.

TABLE IV

Table showing the number of people replying in affirmative about the improvements in drinking-water supply, educational facilities, roads and lanes and health facilities.

Frequency of people who answered	Sex		Caste			Ownership of land			Literacy		Occupation		Age	
	Male	Female	High caste	Back-ward	Muslim	Nil	Below 5 acres	Above 6 acres	Lite-rate	Illi-terate	Culti-vators	Non-cul-tivators	30 years and below	Above 30 yrs.
Drinking water	757	734	786	723	690	651	688	695	—	—	—	—	761	748
Education	634	593	706	623	572	565	623	657	674	581	597	641	629	624
Roads & Lanes	580	544	502	586	557	565	638	669	—	—	—	—	603	526
Health	570	540	543	572	581	488	558	602	—	—	—	—	562	562

(a) *Improvement in Amenities*:

It appears from this table that on the whole the stronger section of the population, the men, the high castes, and those who have land, are more convinced about the improvement in the amenities provided by the Community Projects. In the case of health services, most of the backward classes think that there has been improvement. The younger people (below 30 years) have felt the change more than the older.

Inter-Block Comparison

A very detailed comparison is made between different Blocks, for every question separately and all questions together. The results are given in a tabular form in Table V.

This table is sufficiently simple and it does not need any detailed discussion. In its interpretation, as in the case of similar tables given later, some points should be noted. The total number of people interviewed varies from Block to Block. The results of Barbigha are based on the data collected from six villages on the Biharsharif side of the river. As the bridge collapsed, the investigators could not extend their work on the other side. These villages may not represent the entire Block. In the case of Biharsharif, because the Village Level Worker was present at the time of investigation in several villages, the result may be biased.

TABLE V

Table showing number of people in different blocks convinced about the improvement in certain amenities provided by Community Project Programmes.

	Bihar-sharif	Ekangar-sarai	Bar-bigha	Pusa	Samasti-pur	Sakra	Sasaram	Bhabua	Kudra	Ranchi	Mandar	Orman-jhi	Ranesh-war
1. Cleanliness	625	475	419	540	239	358	475	554	550	639	367	363	582
2. Health	623	479	568	475	434	441	558	703	586	729	685	644	771
3. Educational facilities	604	438	441	658	737	605	607	660	687	750	475	751	558
4. Neighbourliness	521	416	445	689	313	348	319	343	311	424	301	320	396
5. Self-help and initiative	570	279	442	443	368	339	246	291	279	161	215	216	329
6. Roads and Lanes	690	325	512	556	644	575	514	613	492	676	615	703	766
7. Drinking-water supply	685	538	908	785	766	782	775	804	844	755	641	848	867
8. Irrigation	602	672	690	196	202	288	504	300	215	400	196	118	378
9. Crop-production	479	400	554	257	94	232	319	413	403	195	78	193	337
10. Level of Living	399	389	339	290	151	192	206	267	274	178	106	74	179
All Questions	586 (1)	444 (9)	540 (2)	467 (6)	383 (12)	416 (11)	453 (8)	485 (5)	465 (7)	490 (4)	371 (13)	421 (10)	518 (3)

Projects	Biharsharif	Pusa	Sasaram	Ranchi	Raneshwar
	(523)	(422)	(468)	(421)	(518)
	(1)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(2)

Drinking-Water Supply

In all Blocks, except Ekangarsarai, the people are definitely of the opinion that the position of drinking-water supply has improved due to the work of the Community Projects. In the order of improvement Barbigha ranks first followed by Ranchi and Ormanjhi.

Educational Facilities

All Blocks, except Ekangarsarai, Barbigha, Mandar and Raneshwar, show significant improvement. In Raneshwar the general complaint was the absence of Bengali teachers. Ormanjhi, Ranchi and Samastipur occupy the first three positions.

Roads and Lanes

The improvement in all the Blocks are significant expcet the following: Ekangarsarai, Kudra, Barbigha and Sasaram. The first three ranks are those of Raneshwar, Ormanjhi and Biharsharif.

Health

The Blocks which show significant improvement are Raneshwar, Ranchi, Bhabua, Mandar, Ormanjhi, Biharsharif and Kudra.

Cleanliness

Only five Blocks show improvement. They are Ranchi, Biharsharif, Raneshwar, Bhabua and Kudra.

Crop-production

No Block shows significant improvement.

Irrigation

Only the Blocks in Biharsharif Project show some significant improvement.

People are definitely of the opinion that some of the amenities provided by the Community Projects in the villages have caused improvement. The most important among them are drinking-water supply, educational facilities, communication and health. The absence of crop-productiom from the list of things which have improved is striking, but it is not very serious because a majority of the people who are actually availing of the facilities provided by the Community Projects have said that it has improved.

The variation noted between different groups of people shows only their reaction to the Community Project Programme. The weaker section of the Community are less convinced about these changes.

There is a considerable variation between Projects and Blocks of the same Projects. On the whole, Biharsharif Project stands first. But one of its Blocks, namely, Ekangarsarai, seems to be one of the poorest at the same time. If we consider only those items in which there is significant improvement the rank of Biharsharif will be much lower.

(b) *Popular Participation*:

The concept of popular participation, as pointed out by the Programme Evaluation Organisation, is not very definite and it means different things for different people. We shall analyse this question on the basis of four questions, viz., A.2, A.3, A.6 and A.9. These questions were asked to find different aspects of participation. They do not include all the aspects of popular participation. However, they give a general picture, at least of what they feel about their part in the development of their villages.

The general classification of the answers to questions A.2 and A.3 is given in Table VI.

TABLE VI

Table showing answers of the people to questions A.2 and A.3.

Question A.2	Percentage of people who answered	Question A.3	Percentage of people who answered	
			Much or some	Nil
The improvement in village due to—		Has there been adequate participation of—		
1. Community as a whole	44	1. Women	39	61
2. Leadership of a few	24	2. The poor villagers	88	12
3. Official activity	32	3. The Backward class	85	15
Total	100			

About 25 per cent people agree that their village leaders are in their position due to wealth, 28 per cent answer due to honesty, 25 per cent due to education and only 6 per cent answer due to official support.

About 58 per cent of the people do not agree that the Community Project Programme has become a People's Programme with Government Co-operation. What can we conclude from these figures? If more and more people feel that the improvements are due to their participation, that the poor and backward classes are adequately participating in the Community Project Programme, the leaders are in their position not because of their caste or official support but because of their honesty and education and that, at least a non-negligible number think that the Community Project is a People's Programme,

then the Community Project is certainly progressing in the right direction. This tendency is particularly encouraging in view of the stress laid on the democratic character of our plan. It is often heard that the Community Projects have made the well-to-do still better off. Even if the richer section of society are more benefited, the almost unanimous verdict that the weaker segment of society is fully participating in the grand reconstruction of rural life in India is a very significant finding indeed.

TABLE VII

The main results of this section is summarized in Table VII.
Table showing answers of people to Questions A. 2, A. 3, A. 6, and A.9.

S. No.	Sex		Caste			Ownership of land			Literacy		Occupation		Age	
	Male	Female	High caste	Back-ward	Muslim	Nil	Below 5 acres	Above 5 acres	Lite-rate	Illi-terate	Culti-vators	Non-cul-tivators	Below 30yrs.	Above 30 yrs.
1. The improvement is due to— (1) Community as a whole	44	46	45	43	—	45	—	43	—	—	—	—	—	—
(2) Leadership of a few	24	21	31	22	—	27	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—
(3) Official activity	32	33	25	35	—	28	—	32	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Participation in the Community Project of— (1) Women	37	47	39	40	—	48	41	40	40	—	—	—	38	38
(2) Poor Villagers	87	88	82	88	87	86	83	82	82	—	—	—	87	86
(3) The Backward class	85	84	79	86	84	86	85	83	82	—	—	—	86	83
3. Community Project began as Govt. a ctivity with public co-operation. Now it is said to be the other way.	46	29	54	40	34	35	40	53	—	—	—	—	44	41

4. Leadership in village due to—

(1) Wealth	245	286	225	261	272	313	278	201	244	265	231	289	245	266
(2) Honesty	279	268	298	271	296	200	275	326	305	255	302	242	293	282
(3) Education	257	246	202	255	264	245	250	251	234	259	259	228	249	241
(4) Caste	102	114	107	106	80	146	99	87	93	120	97	126	107	97
(5) Official support	64	46	120	60	32	60	56	82	44	45	52	77	63	60
(6) Age	53	40	48	47	56	36	42	53	44	56	59	38	53	54

The figures given in any column in Sl. No. 1 give the percentage of people who answered leadership of a few etc. In Sl. No. 2, the figure 37, for example, is the percentage of males who answered that there is 'much' or 'some' participation of women in the Community Projects. In Sl. No. 3, 46, 29 etc. are the percentages of males or females who agree with the statement. The figures in Sl. No 4 give the number of people per 1,000 who answered wealth, honesty etc.

On the question of agency which is responsible for the changes, it seems that there is no significant variation in the answers given by men and women. Only an average high-caste people tend to answer more frequently that the improvements are due to the leadership of a few. Similarly, the Backward classes answered more frequently that official activity was responsible for the improvement. In the case of the other alternative, viz., Community as a whole, there is very little variation between high and low castes. This is a striking proof of the reality and strength of the Community for the responsibility of the improvements effected.

The variation noted in the participation of women, the poor villagers and the Backward classes shows the general desire of the people that their contribution should be recognized. Most women said that the women are participating and most of the landless persons said that the poor are also participating.

On the question of leadership, there is very little variation between sexes and caste groups even though more persons from the higher castes said that leaders enjoy their position because of honesty. According to the landless people wealth is the main consideration in village leadership, while to the richer group honesty comes first followed by education and wealth.

The higher strata of society, including the high castes and those with more than 5 acres of land, think that the Community Projects have developed into a people's programme. All the other segments of society think that it is mainly a Government activity. About 75 per cent of the women are of the latter opinion as against the general 58 per cent.

INTER-BLOCK VARIATION

There is a significant difference between the answers given by people living in different Blocks on the question of participation.

From the question on the agency responsible for the improvement we shall measure the amount of popular participation by the percentage of people who answered that the improvements are due to Community as a whole. According to this test, Pusa Block stands first followed very closely by the Blocks in Biharsharif Project. Raneshwar and the Blocks in Ranchi Project come at the other end of the series. In Raneshwar 68 per cent of the people think that the improvements are due to official activity. The corresponding numbers for Ranchi, Mandar and Ormanjhi are 52, 54, 53 respectively. In Sakra and Samastipur alone, people think that the improvements are due to the leadership of a few more than anything else. The contrast between these Blocks and Pusa of the same Project is a little puzzling (14 per cent of Pusa as against 41 per cent and 40 per cent of Samastipur and Sakra respectively).

The variation on the question whether the Community Projects have become a public activity with Government aid is quite similar to that of the previous question, Pusa, Barbigha, Biharsharif and Ekangarsarai leading the rest of the Blocks.

TABLE VIII

Table showing answers of the people (in affirmative) to questions A.5 and A.8.

	Sex		Caste			Ownership of land			Literacy		Occupation		Age	
	Male	Female	High caste	Back-ward	Muslim	Nil	Below 5 acres	Above 5 acres	Lite-rate	Illite-rate	Culti-vators	Non-cul-tivators	Below 30 yrs.	Above 30 yrs.
1. Whether able to continue developmental work when Govt. aid is reduced.	31	15	38	27	24	19	25	33	36	—	—	24	28	27
2. Success of Co-operative Society	55	45	64	51	54	39	52	64	61	56	56	46	55	54
3. Gram Panch-ayat	70	62	71	66	71	59	69	73	70	67	71	62	68	68

(c) *Ability to continue development work*:

The supreme test of the success of a Community Project lies in finding out as to how far it has been successful in educating the people in the new way of life so that when the period of intensive development is over the people may not be willing and anxious to continue the development work but also be capable of it. To assess the achievement of the Community Project from this point of view, a few questions were asked. The first of thes? was direct and rather blunt. "Do you think that you will be able to continue development work when the Government aid is reduced?" Only 28 per cent of the people answered that they could. Whether this answer reflects the genuine desire to continue the work or a fear that Government aid will not be forthcoming if they answered 'Yes' is doubtful. The villages may be able to develop local leadership, but except for a few villages, it is doubtful whether enough local finance could be raised to continue the work in the same way as done by the Community Projects.

As an indicator to the capacity of the people to continue development work, the success of Co-operative Societies and Gram Panchyats has a special significance. The spirit of self-help and corporate action is institutionalized in these popular bodies. Whether it is distribution of seeds, fertilizers, cash loans, raw materials for cottage industries, or arranging marketing facilities for village crafts and cottage industry products, the Co-operative Societies have a significant role to play. The proper development of Gram Panchayat is necessary for more than one reason. It is the one institution eminently suited to fill in the vacuum created by the absence of the Government agency, if and when it is withdrawn. The proper working of it ensures the democratic character of the programme.

Therefore, an assessment of the success of these institutions will be of much use in finding how far the villagers will be able to continue the work, whose foundation was laid by the Community Projects. The question asked was: "How far have these been successful in your village?" 55 per cent and 69 per cent of the people from those villages in which these institutions were established have answered that Co-operative Societies and Gram Panchayats respectively have been successful. But a correct interpretation of this would compel us to know the number of villages where these institutions have been established. A rough estimate of this is available from the Sample. Out of the 279 villages investigated, from 74 and 89 villages not a single person has answered that Co-operative Societies and Gram Panchayats respectively were successful in their villages. Similarly, from 47 and 53 villages, people refused to give answers. Only 70 per cent of the people have answered this question.

While it is true that the people as a whole think that Co-operative Societies are successful, this is not true of all sections of the population. The women, the landless, illiterate and non-agriculturists are definitely of the opinion that they have not been successful. This may be because of the fact that these groups of society have had fewer occasions to have had contacts with these new institutions.

Even though all the groups agree that Gram Panchayats have been successful, the strength of conviction varies from group to group. Again, the weaker section is comparatively less than the corresponding stronger group. The same is true of the other question also even though no section of the Community feels that they can continue development work. There is very little variation between the young and the old in any of the questions.

INTER-BLOCK VARIATION

The relative ranks of the 13 Blocks from the point of view of these three questions are given in the following table.

TABLE IX

Table showing the relative ranks of 13 Blocks from the point of view of questions A.5. & A.8.

Have these been successful in your village?	Biharsharif	Ekangarsarai	Barbigha	Pusa	Samastipur	Sakra	Sasaram	Bhabua	Kudra	Ranchi	Mandar	Ormanjhi	Raneshwar
1. Co-operative Societies	3.0	5.5	4.o	2.0	12.0	9.5	9.5	8.0	7.0	5.5	11.0	13.0	1.0
2. Gram Panchayats	10.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	11.5	11..5	13.0	7.0	9.0	5.0	8.0	6.0	2.0
Are you able to continue development work if Govt. aid is reduced?	7.5	10.5	9.0	2.0	5.5	4.0	5.5	1.0	3.0	12.0	7.5	13.0	10.5
Average ranks	7.0	5.5	4.0	1.0	12.0	9.0	11.0	3.0	5.5	8.0	10.0	13.0	2.0
Average ranks of Projects		2.0			4.0			3.0			5.0		1.0

These ranks in Table IX are calculated from the percentage of people who answered 'yes' in that Block. The percentages are ordered from 1 to 13 to get the figures given in the table. The ranks given in the last row is obtained by simply averaging the ranks of the three questions and converting them into ranks.

The nature of variation from Block to Block is obvious from this table. Pusa again occupies the first rank, taking into consideration all the three questions simultaneously. It is followed by Raneshwar and Bhabua. The supremacy of Pusa is uniform in that its rank is first or second in all the three questions. In Raneshwar also, Co-operative Societies and Gram Panchayats have been quite successful although, because of poverty or backwardness or some other reasons, the people think that they would not be able to continue development work if the Government aid is reduced. The dependence on Government is obviously for finance rather than for leadership. The contrast noticed in Pusa Project in the case of popular participation is continued here also. Perhaps, it may be due to a close relationship between popular participation and ability to continue development work of the Community Projects. While Pusa occupies the first rank, the neighbouring Blocks, Samastipur and Sakra, occupy the 12th and 9th ranks respectively.

Apart from ranks, if the actual percentages are considered it is seen that the answers on Gram Panchayats and ability to continue development work have been uniform in all Blocks; 'yes' in the case of the first question and 'no' in the case of the second. But this is not the case with the Co-operative Societies. In Pusa, Raneshwar, Barbigha, Ekangarsarai and Biharsharif, they have been successful. In Ormanjhi, about 70 per cent of the people think that they have not been successful.

1. Even though only about 30 per cent of the people answered that they will be able to continue development work, this need not be very discouraging since this low figure might be due to the fear of the people that if they said 'yes' the Government aid would be reduced if not stopped.

2. If the Co-operative Societies and Gram Panchayats are successful in a village, this is a good indication that the development work will be continued even after the Community Projects. In those villages where these been have established it is found that the people are satisfied that they are working quite alright. So far only 70 per cent of the villages could be benefited by these organisations.

3. There is a significant variation between Blocks in the answers on the success of the Co-operative Societies. It has been most successful in Raneshwar and Pusa and least in Ormanjhi and Samastipur. In the case of the other two questions also, there is variation between Blocks, but it is only in the degree of probability and not in the answers.

4. The variation between groups is similar to that between Blocks. The weaker section of society is less convinced about the success of these institutions. There is no variation between the young and the old.

CHAPTER IV

IMPACT ON SOCIAL ATTITUDES

One of the important topics on which those who have been connected with the Community Projects desired to be informed is how far it has succeeded in creating a progressive outlook among the villagers. This, if it exists, will express itself in a number of ways: in the desire for progress, willingness to accumulate new knowledge in the realm of agriculture, industry, health, habits of co-operative action through appropriate popular bodies etc. The improvement that has taken place and about which, as we have seen earlier, the people are convinced would not have been possible if there was no desire for progress on the part of the villagers, and if they did not believe what was demonstrated to them by the Community Projects. Most of the people had no difficulty ordinarily in introducing any new techniques about whose utility they are convinced. But a progressive outlook is required not only in agricultural practices and allied fields but also in social attitudes. The outlook of the people is reflected in their values and in their attitude towards the prevailing social evils in the villages. Many, who are convinced about the evils of some of their social habits, still find it difficult to take enough courage to divorce them. These evils are more deep-rooted and much time and effort may be required to effect a significant change in these attitudes.

We shall examine this from the answers given to a number of questions.

(i) Has the Community Project work in your village changed feeling against *purdah*, early marriage etc.?

(ii) Do you think that there is the same belief as before in your village that epidemics, droughts etc. are due to evil spirits or fate?

In addition to these specific questions, some other answers would throw light on the problem. The reasons given by the people for not making use of some of the facilities provided by the Community Projects would show to a certain extent how far the people were willing to deviate from the age-old traditions.

The answers to these questions show that the Community Projects have not succeeded appreciably in breaking the barrier. This is not surprising in view of the fact that changes in social attitudes cannot be achieved in a very short period of time. Still it will be of interest to study how far and where they have succeeded. On an average, about one quarter of the people think that there has been some change of feeling against these evils. If we compare them among themselves, the greatest change is in the attitude to female education (48 per cent). This is followed by early marriage (37), inter-caste jealousies (29), *purdah* system (25), widow marriage (14), and dowry system (14). The position is the same when we examine their belief in 'fate' as a cause of epidemics, droughts etc. But evil spirit is no longer considered to be a cause of these calamities by a large section of the people. About half of the population think that there is not the same belief as before that evil spirits are playing any role in bringing these natural calamities to the villages.

On the question of prejudices against modern agricultural and veterinary practices, the answers are quite encouraging. Very few of them are not making use of these methods because they think that they are useless. None of them think that improved seeds, impliments and fertilizers supplied by the Community Projects are undesirable and only a few of them answered that artificial insemination of cattle and other veterinary aids were not liked by them.

GROUP VARIATION

In the case of dowry system and widow marriage the change is so little that it is not worthwhile to study its variation between different groups of people and between blocks. We can fairly assume that there has been no change at all in these two cases. This may be due to the fact these were not included in the programme of the Community Projects.

The group variation with respect to the other four questions is given in the following table:—

TABLE X

Table showing answers (in affirmative) of the people to questions regarding social prejudices (Questions B.I. & B.2)

Has the Community Project changed feeling against—	Sex		Caste			Ownership of land			Literacy		Occupation		Age	
	Male	Female	High caste	Back-ward	Mus-lim	Nil	Below 5 acres	Above 5 acres	Lite-rate	Illite-rate	Culti-vator	Non-cul-tivator	Below 30 yrs.	Above 30 yrs.
1. *Purdah*	26	24	33	26	22	27	25	26	—	—	—	—	26	25
2. Early Marriage	37	37	39	36	37	36	39	36	41	34	—	—	35	38
3. Female Education	49	43	59	46	50	35	37	44	56	43	—	—	49	49
4. Inter-caste feeling	29	23	30	28	29	24	29	30	—	—	—	—	29	27
5. Is there the same belief as before that epidemics and droughts are due to—														
(i) Evil Spirit	50	37	55	41	58	47	46	52	—	—	—	—	49	46
(ii) Fate	21	13	29	20	20	17	18	23	—	—	—	—	23	18

The figures for the first question give the percentage of people who answered 'yes'. In the case of the second the figures give the percentage of people who answered that there is not the same belief.

On the question on *purdah*, there is little variation between the answers given by people with land and without land, male and female, and young and old. There is considerable variation between religious and caste groups. Only about the fifth the Muslims said that there has been some change while one-third of the high-caste Hindus were of that opinion.

On early marriage, there is no variation sex-wise or caste-wise or ownership-of-land-wise or age-wise. But there is some variation between the literates and illiterates. Similarly, there is some variation, the nature of which is obvious from the table, on the other two items also.

Even though only a little less than half of the people said that there is not the same belief as before that the natural calamities are due to evil spirits the ratio is much higher in certain sections of the population and consequently lower in other sections. About 58 per cent of the Muslims and 55 per cent of the high-caste Hindus are of that opinion. The percentage is the lowest for women, and that too among the Backward class Hindus. About fate, the answer is almost uniform among different religious groups. Women's belief in fate is least affected by the Community Project work. So also to a less extent that of the old and the landless.

Inter-Block Comparison

We shall consider only two items from the first question and one from the second to study the inter-block variations. In the other five items the changes are negligible and, therefore, their variations cannot be studied properly. Table XI below gives a detailed study of the variation in these three items.

TABLE XI

Table showing the percentage of people in different Blocks who replied in affirmative to question A.1 (early marriage and female education) and in negative to question B.2.

Is there any change of feeling against—	Bihar-sharif	Ekangar-sarai	Bar-bigha	Pusa	Samasti-pur	Sakra	Sasaram	Bhabua	Kudra	Ranchi	Mandar	Orman-jhi	Ranesh-war
Early Marriage	61 (1)	50 (3)	38 (6)	56 (2)	47 (4.5)	47 (4.5)	25 (7.5)	23 (9)	25 (7.5)	14 (10)	5 (13)	11 (12)	12 (11)
Female Education	50 (6.5)	50 (6.5)	64 (1)	54 (4)	53 (5)	48 (8)	43 (9)	36 (10)	56 (3)	62 (2)	35 (12)	35 (12)	35 (12)
Is there the same belief as before that epidemics etc. are due to Evil Spirit?	38 (10)	55 (4)	70 (1)	55 (4)	55 (4)	44 (6.5)	57 (2)	44 (6.5)	7 (13)	41 (8)	39 (9)	32 (11)	28 (12)

In the first two rows the number gives the percentage of people who answered 'yes'. In the last row it gives the percentage of people who answered that there is not the same belief as before. The numbers within brackets give the ranks o the respective Blocks. The nature of variation is clear from this table. Change in specific social attitudes is least in the Blocks in Santhal area.

CHAPTER V

REACTIONS TO TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES

The pattern of rural society that is visualised by the Community Project agencies is that of millions of rural families, organising themselves as Co-operatives of different kinds and taking decisions as free agents, practising scientific agriculture on the largest scale possible and finding supplementary occupation in a variety of decentralised cottage and small-scale industries, while the state assists by organising research, supplies, services and credit. Top priority was given to the provision of quality seeds, improved agricultural techniques, veterinary aids, improved agricultural impliments, marketing and credit facilities, breeding centres for animal husbandry and soil research and manures. This was because the average yield per acre (or per animal, bird etc.) in India was one of the lowest in the world. It was thought that the most important reason for this state of affairs was that most of the Indian cultivators were reluctant to give up the traditional method of agriculture and make use of opportunities made available by science.

This was one of the programmes of the Community Projects where results could be achieved easily. This was one of the fields where the officials put the greatest attention and the Government spent the maximum money (about 33 per cent of the total). Therefore, it is natural to expect good results in this field.

The effectiveness of the Community Project programme in inducting scientific methods into Indian agriculture is indicated by the number of villages making use of the facilities provided by it.

The first part is purely objective and attitude comes only in the second part. In addition to this, people were asked to state what improvements had been made in cottage industries, whether the employment position had improved, and whether demonstrations, exhibitions and audio-visual aids were helpful in agriculture and industry.

About one-fifth of the people were making use of improved seeds, one-twentieth of scientific impliments, one-third of fertilizers, one-tenth of artificial insemination of cattle and a little more than one-third of veterinary aids.

These percentages are calculated on the basis of the answers given by all the people. This would not give the correct picture. Those who have no land, either own or rented, do not require seeds or impliments or fertilizers. Those who do not possess cattle, of course, do not require veterinary aids. Therefore, these percentages can be given better meaning if we include only those who are expected to avail of these facilities. This is easily done in the case of the first three, but is not possible in the case of the last two, as ownership of cattle was not enquired into. The adjusted percentages for seeds, impliments and fertilizers are 24, 7 and 40 respectively. Still, only one out of four and two out of five are making use of seeds and fertilizers respectively.

To leave the matter here by simply stating that everything is not quite alright with the introduction of scientific methods in agriculture by the Community Projects does not lead anywhere. An analysis of the reasons given by the people for not using them will not only show where the bottlenecks lie, but also help in suggesting methods for removing them. This survey is particularly useful from this point of view. The project records may give better estimates of the number of families availing of the facilities offered by the Community Project,

but the reasons why the people are not availing of them can be had only from the people directly. The general results of the analysis are given in a tabular form below:

TABLE XII

Table showing the percentage of people not making use of seeds, fertilizers, artificial insemination and veterinary aids due to different reasons.

AGRICULTURE			VETERINARY		
Reasons for not making use of	Percentages of people who give a particular reason		Reasons for not making use of	Percentages of people who give a particular reason	
S. N.	Seeds	Fertilizers		Insemination of cattle	Veterinary aids
1. No land	26.5	31.5	No cattle	36.9	29.4
2. Not available	38.4	36.9	Not available	18.5	38.0
3. Not needed	13.3	12.8	Not needed	28.9	24.3
4. Not known	7.5	5.1	Not known	7.2	2.9
5. No money	7.2	9.0	Don't like it	3.6	1.2
6. Available at home	2.6	1.8	Not useful	2.6	0.5
7. Not useful	0.6	0.7	Village bull available	5.2	—
8. V. L. W. sells in black market	0.7	0.9	—	—	—
9. Others	3.2	1.3	Others	2.1	3.7
All	100	100	All	100	100

About 22 per cent of the people in the sample do not have any land, either own or rented, and therefore, do not require either seeds or fertilizers. They have given their reason as 'no land'. Among the people who are not making use of either seeds or fertilizers, a majority of them (about 37 per

cent) are not doing so because they are not available. It is evident, therefore, that the supply services of the Government are inadequate. About 13 per cent do not feel the need of them, a little over one-twentieth never knew about them and an equal number, though knew about them, could not avail of them because of lack of money. Only about 1 in 100 thought that they were not useful.

In the case of veterinary aids the position is the same. They are not available for about 38 per cent of the people, 'not needed' by only 24 per cent, and 'not known' to about 3 per cent of them. 'No cattle' is the major reason why people are not making use of artificial insemination. About 7 per cent did not know of it, 4 per cent did not like it and 3 per cent thought that it was useless.

These percentages are significant because they add considerably to our knowledge about the reason why the progress of the transformation of methods of agricultural and animal husbandry practices has been slow. People in general have no reluctance to accept new practices about whose utility they are convinced. If a large number of them are not making use of the new techniques, it is not because they think that they are useless, not even because of any sentimental objection or reluctance to discontinue age-old practices, but mainly because they are not easily available to everyone. The machinery for the distribution of seeds and fertilizers needs a thorough overhauling. In a similar manner, if a major section of the people thought that they do not need seeds, fertilizers and veterinary aids provided by the Community Projects, is it not mainly due to the ineffectiveness of their extension programmes? The extension programme in the field of animal husbandry needs particular attention. It is very significant to note that among those who have availed of these facilities, only very few have complained that they are useless.

Against the general belief, lack of money is the cause for only a few of them.

Coming to the question of cottage industries, the general opinion of the people is that very little improvement has been made in this field. Out of 279 villages investigated, from 224 not a single person has answered that any improvement has been made in any of the cottage industries in his village. Out of 3,620 people interviewed, only 8 per cent of them think that some improvements have been made. The failure to show any progress in cottage industries may be due to the fact that no special emphasis was laid on its promotion.

A highly developed decentralized cottage and small-scale industry is the hope of millions of villagers in improving their economic conditions. In these they look forward for some gainful employment during slack season in agriculture. This is indeed disappointing.

In the case of employment facilities offered by the Community Projects, the people in general (72 per cent) do not think that they have improved in any manner. The Community Projects offer employment in the form of manual labour and contract work, and in cottage and small industries. In view of the fact that very little improvement has been made in cottage industries, the form of available employment is confined mainly to manual labour for construction of roads, buildings and other projects.

Only a section of the population can avail of these facilities. It may be this factor which is reflected in the observed percentage. There is no doubt that the distress due to unemployment is felt by most of the people either because facilities are not available or those available do not suit a good number of people.

Inter-Block Variation

As regards the proportion of people who are making use of chemical fertilizers, Biharsharif Project stands first followed in that order by Sasaram, Pusa, Raneshwar and Ranchi. The contrast between Pusa and other two Blocks of the same project is significant here also. The order is practically the same for the use of veterinary aids and improved seeds except that in the latter case Raneshwar is the first.

Considering the reasons for not making use of these facilities, the non-availability of seeds and fertilizers is the greatest in Samastipur and Sakra. The position is not much different in Sasaram, Bhabua, Ormanjhi, Raneshwar, Kudra and Mandar. It is least in the Blocks in Biharsharif Project, Pusa and Ranchi.

In the case of veterinary aids the position is a little different. Biharsharif Project comes last along with Raneshwar, Ormanjhi, Samastipur and Sakra. The non-availability in this case is least in Pusa.

On the question of an improvement in employment position, even though the general answer is disappointing, there is one Block in which the people feel that the position has improved. In Pusa, 223 out of 429 answered that the position has improved.

Demonstration, exhibition and audio-visual aids have been helpful to a large number of people in their agriculture and cottage industries but they form only a minority (40 per cent) among the people who answered the question. A large number of people (67 per cent) did not answer the question as they had never witnessed one. In one village, not a single person answered the question because of the above reason.

CHAPTER VI

INTER-VILLAGE DISPARITY

It has been pointed out by most of the investigators that the inter-village disparity in development work is much more than inter-Block or inter-project differences. Since in our sample, about 20 per cent of the villages were included from each Block and since the selection was strictly random, we naturally expect that the villages included in the sample give a good cross-section of all the villages. Most of the investigators pointed out that villages on the road side, those in which the V. L. W. lives, and those of some influential persons are particularly cared for and those in the interior and those occupied by the poor and backward classes are completely left out. This has also been pointed out by the Programme Evaluation Organisation. "To a certain extent, it may also be said that villages which were most in need of help because of being backward or internally divided have got the least benefit. In any case, the inter-village disparities in development can be considered to have increased to an extent." (P. E. O. report 1956, page 7)

An attempt has been made in this section to evaluate this inter-village disparity. Only some of the most important questions, and where the development was sufficiently high, are considered. The technique adopted is purely statistical. The procedure will be clear from the following artificial example.

Suppose that the answers for any particular question by 150 people selected at random from villages spread over 3 Blocks are as given in the accompanying table.

Table XIII

Table showing inter-village disparity.

Block I			Block II			Block III		
Sl. No. of villages	No. of peo-ple who answered 'Nil'	Total No. of people	Sl.No.of villages	No.of peo-ple who answered 'Nil'	Total No. of people	Sl.No. of vil-lages	No.ofpeo-ple who answered 'Nil'	Total No. of people
1	10	10	1	6	10	1	4	10
2	10	10	2	5	10	2	4	10
3	0	10	3	4	10	3	4	10
4	0	10	4	3	10	4	4	10
5	0	10	5	2	10	5	4	10
Total	20	50	Total	20	50	Total	20	50

Without any analysis it is obvious that in Blocks I and II there are inter-village disparities; and in Block III there is no inter-village difference. An estimate of the inter-village disparity in any Block is given by the 'Between village Mean Square'; and that of intra-village disparity by 'within village Mean Square'. They are obtained by 'analysis of variance' technique. These estimates and this ratio for the three Blocks are given below:

	Block I	Block II	Block III
1. B. V. M. S.	3.00	0·25	0·00
2. W. V. M. S.	0.00	0·25	0·37
3. Variance Ratio (VR) $\frac{(1)}{(2)}$		1·00	·00

Results in Block I correspond to the situation when some of the villages in the Block are developed in such a manner that every one in them felt the change. The people in the other villages also completely agree among themselves because nothing was done to make them doubtful. In Block III the entire variation is within the villages. All villages are perhaps equally developed and the people in every village are equally convinced about these changes. The same proportion of people from every village answered that there has been improvement.

These two cases are rare events. A more realistic case is given in Block II. Just as people living in the same village are not equally convinced about the improvements, so also, even if all the villages are equally developed if we consider the group of people living in the same village as one unit, we can expect a certain amount of variation in their convictions about the improvements. But how much variation can we expect? Logically the best answer to this is: as much as we see among people living in the same village. If this is true, we have to conclude that the inter-village disparity in Block II is not 'noticeable', i.e., it is not more than what we can expect even if all the villages are equally developed.

The test criterion actually used takes into consideration the sampling problem also. The observed variance ratio (VR) is considered to be more than what we can expect if all the villages are equally developed, provided it is significantly more than unity.

TABLE XIV

Table showing variance ratios for each question and each Block.

$$\text{Variance Ratio} = \frac{\text{Between village mean square}}{\text{Within village mean square}}$$

QUESTIONS	BLOCKS												
Due to C. P. has there been any improvement in:	Bihar-sharif	Ekanger-sarai	Bar-bigha	Pusa	Samasti-pur	Sakra	Sasaram	Bhabua	Kudra	Ranchi	Mandar	Orman-jhi	Ranesh-war
Educational facilities	21·2	74·9	36·2	16·8	16·5	19·6	20·3	34·0	20·1	15·6	15·7	44·7	30·4
Roads and lanes	10·5	33·4	52·6	15·6	15·0	10·5	20·1	56·2	39·7	13·5	26·4	10·3	5·8
Drinking-water supply	14·1	4·2	(1·6)	5·7	16·7	19·9	13·1	12·0	3·9	55·4	10·1	6·7	25·8
Crop-production	13·7	25·3	23·3	6·8	12·9	6·3	6·1	12·5	3·7	3·5	4·2	4·8	5·4
Are you making use of the following:													
Fertilizers	3·9	6·3	(1·7)	3·1	3·1	3·3	2·3	1·6	2·7	4·4	2·3	(0·6)	(1·1)
Veterinary aids	5·8	11·7	4·8	4·0	5·7	1·9	6·9	4·5	2·8	6·5	9·4	2·1	4·8
Success of Co-operative Societies	10·9	8·0	13·2	11·5	4·8	17·7	7·7	9·0	2·2	8·9	7·2	2·9	5·6

The figures which are put in brackets are not significantly different from unity.

The results of the analysis are given in Table XIV. The figures given within brackets are not significantly greater than unity. The general conclusion, which one can draw from this table, is that the inter-village disparity in development work is very great particularly in every item; there is a great variation between Blocks in the inter-village disparity and that among the questions considered the least variation is in the fields of agriculture and veterinary aids. In Barbigha, Ormanjhi and Raneshwar the variation noted in the use of fertilizers is not significant and, in Barbigha, similarly, all the villages are equally developed in the matter of drinking-water supply. It should, however, be noted that part of the observed inter-village variation is accounted for by the inter-investigator variation with which this is confounded.

Disparity in the improvement of educational facilities is very great in all the Blocks. It is greatest in Ekangarsarai and the least in Ranchi followed very closely by Mandar and Pusa.

The improvement in roads and lanes, and drinking-water supply are also highly heterogeneous. In the case of roads and lanes the greatest disparity is in Bhabua and Barbigha and the least in Ormanjhi, Biharsharif and Sakra.

In the case of crop-production the disparity, though significant, is less compared to earlier questions.

The highest disparity on the use of chemical fertilizers and veterinary aids is in Ekangarsarai. Considering the success of Co-operative Societies in those villages in which they have been established it is seen that variation between villages is great in this case also.

CHAPTER VII

THE LACUNAE

(a) *Village Level Worker*

In the course of the investigation an attempt was made to assess how far the V. L. W. comes in contact with the people. No attempt, however, was made to assess his position in the village and how far he is useful to villagers. They were merely asked to state when they saw the V. L. W. last. The result of this enquiry is given in the following table. About 20% of the men had never seen the V. L. W. at all. About 39% saw him regularly. This, however, does not mean that all of them saw him for his advice on some problem or anything of that sort. They merely saw him in the course of the last 30 days. If we analyse the answers further it is seen that most of the people who saw him recently are those who lived in the village in which the V. L. W. lived or some neighbouring villages. He did not often visit those villages which were farther away from his residence.

TABLE XV

Table showing the people's opinion (expressed in percentages) about the frequency of visits by V. L. W.

One month or less	More than one month	Never seen
	(Male only)	
39	33	28

At the end of the field-work every investigator was asked to submit a small report on his experience in the villages. One of the points on which most of them dealt with was the

relationship between the V. L. W. and the people. One of them writes: "The activities of the V. L. W. were highly condemned in most of the areas.

All complained against him and described him as a man who, instead of facilitating the progress of the village, hampered it. The lack of adequate enthusiasm towards the Community Project was due to the slackness of the Community Project authorities, mostly of the lower ranks. The villagers of certain villages, for instance, told me elaborately about the malpractices of their V. L. W. who used to sell out the chemical fertilizers in the black market. They also named the shopkeeper of their village who disposed of such misappropriated goods. Regarding the bags of cement allotted for the repair of the wells and such other works complaints were made at so many places. Except in some villages, where there is the headquarter of the V. L. W., he did not generally go to other villages even just for paying a visit and meeting the villagers."

Some other complaints against him were that he generally entered into group politics of the village, cared for people of his own caste, behaved as if he was some inspector. Poorer people, who did not bribe him, were deprived of the facilities of seeds and fertilizers. These instances are quoted not because all that was reported was thought to be correct and that all V. L. Ws. are like that, but to show that there are probably some black sheep also among them. However, the rather uncomplimentary picture drawn about of the V. L. W. is probably a rare occurrence. The V. L. Ws. who are expected to be everything for the villagers—the "friend, philosopher and guide"—are certainly not, at least a good number of them, as they ought to be. For most of the villagers he is merely a Government representative for distributing seeds and fertilizers, for collecting money and other

contribution to development work, and to carry out such other instruction from higher authorities. He is still known as 'inspector saheb' in many villages.

As pointed out by the Programme Evaluation Organisation these differences between what is expected of him by the Community Project agencies and what he is actually doing are so marked that there is need for redefinition of the role and functions of the V. L. W. This, however, is a difficult point and requires consideration of a number of points, like finance, availability of suitable persons, recruitment and training.

A detailed investigation of this important question of the relation of the Block officials with the people is urgently necessary. It is only after such an investigation that a realistic definition of the roles and functions of these officials is possible. The two officers who require immediate attention are the V. L. W. and the Social Education Officer. The success of the Community Projects depends to a great extent on how these officers discharge their duties. If one is engaged merely in the distribution of seeds and fertilizers and the other only in looking after visitors and showing them the different achievements of the Blocks, nothing better can be expected of them.

(b) *Programmes not included in Community Projects*

People were asked to state the requirements of the village which were not included in the Community Project programmes. Many of them misunderstood the question and gave one of the programmes which is already included in it. They want more roads, wells, irrigational facilities, cottage industries, protection from flood, schools, hospitals, women's hospitals and teachers of a particular type. Nobody asked for a friend or a philosopher or a 'guide'. Nobody asked for newer techniques in agriculture and cottage industries. Does it not mean

that majority of the people have not understood the fundamental objects of the Community Project programmes? To them the Community Projects are only an agency to improve amenities, something similar to a municipality in a town.

But quite a few of them pointed out some of the requirements of their village which have not been included in the Community Projects. Nothing has been done for the poor, the disabled persons and the orphans. Many feel that this should have been a part of the Community Project works. Distribution of lands to landless, construction of homes to homeless, provision of employment to unemployed and fixation of fair wages to the labourers are some other suggestions. One person from Biharsharif wanted that the Community Projects should do something to make the Government servants more honest; another from Bhabua wanted enforcement of complete prohibition in the Community Project areas, and a third person from Pusa Project wanted that the Community Project authorities should give his village a good *Mukhiya* and help in removing inter-caste wranglings.

According to many of the investigators, one of the most important programmes to be included in the Community Projects for the generation of a newoutlook among the villagers was bold housing programme. Of course, it is impossible to demolish all the existing houses and build anew instead. A more practical method would be to help some of the richer people to construct better houses so that they may stand as models. The Government can help by giving technical advice and making available some of the materials which may not be available locally. Much thought should be given in drawing up the plan for the model houses. It is essential that the cost should not be much and most of the materials should be available locally. The steps which have already been taken in constructing neat and planned *Harijan* colonies in some of

the Blocks are highly commendable. Construction of 'model villages', similar to the one planned in West Bengal, will help very much in creating the necessary atmosphere among the villagers.

One of the items in the fields of health and sanitation, on which the Community Projects put special emphasis, was environmental hygiene. Good progress has been made in some villages in the matter of water-supply, pavement of lanes and construction of latrines. But due consideration was not given to personal hygiene, and house keeping. This is the one field where good work can be done without much expenditure. And this, along with environmental hygiene, will ultimately reduce the pressure on rural hospitals.

As every available evidence shows, the death-rate in India has been halved within the last ten years. Within the same period, not only that the birth-rate has not decreased but it has actually increased. At this rate, unless the development programmes are maintained at a very high pitch, the standard of living in the villages will decrease. The hope that as the standard of living increases population growth will automatically be checked may not always come true. Much depends on the amount of change in the standard. It may be safely asserted that no durable improvement in the conditions of the people can ever be effected unless the race for population is controlled. Fortunately, the propagation of family planning has actually been started in the rural areas by the Community Project agencies and some family planning centres are already functioning.

(c) *Comparison with non-Community Project areas*

One of the possible objections to the method adopted in the analysis given in the previous sections is that here is no guarantee that the improvements are due to Community

Projects alone. With the passage of time some improvements in all the items are bound to take place. There have been tremendous improvements in educational facilities, irrigation and electricity supply in recent years in Bihar. The social habits of the people are bound to change with time. In the Community Project areas the improvements are due to both the Community Projects and the time factor. These two effects are confounded. Therefore, even though the people were asked: "Due to Community Project work have such and such things improved?", they were incapable of separating out the two effects and giving the proper answers. They only answered the combined effects of the change.

In order to separate out those two, the best procedure would have been to investigate the villages in the non-Community Project areas and to estimate the improvements there. A comparison of the Community Project areas with the non-Community Project areas would have given a more proper evaluation of the Community Projects' works. But this meant much more money and time. Because of the lack of these two, especially the latter, such an investigation was not undertaken. An attempt was made in this direction in some villages in the neighbourhood of Patna in the last week of July when the other investigation was over. The results were not satisfactory. The investigators were in a mood to go home; there was no proper supervision; the villages selected were very near the town and could not be taken as a representative of the villages in the non-Community Project areas, and moreover only about 150 persons were interviewed. Therefore, the entire data was rejected.

The absence of a comparison between the Community Project areas and non-Community Project areas was, however, not of much significance in this survey since the object of the investigation was to find out the opinion of the people about the improvements and not the actual improvement.

CHAPTER VIII

SIGNIFICANCE

The purpose of this Survey was to assess the change in the minds of the people effected in consequence of the objective changes brought about in the social environment of the people. The difficulty was that this transformation had to be assessed as a result of the impact of the physical changes for the short space of only five years. This period is too short to enable us to make categorical statements of any kind. However, it appears to us that a leaven has been injected into the minds of the people which seems to have disturbed the "pathetic contentment" (to use Mr. Montague's phrase) of the Indian people.

Our Survey has shown the reincarnation of the Community-mindedness as indicated by the answers of the people that the village *Panchayats* and the Co-operative Societies had been successful, that many of them felt (in spite of the exigencies of Government aid for their projects) that they could continue the programme of the Community Projects after the Government aid was stopped, that the improvements in the villages were not due to the few but due to the Community as a whole and that people would rather choose their own leaders than have them appointed.

This Survey also showed that a distinct breach had already been made in the citadel of fatalism and other social evils afflicting the people of our land.

It has also been demonstrated that the technological changes introduced in the rural areas seem to have formed a ledgement in the hearts of the people. They, therefore, seem to be on the way to becoming permanent acquisitions of the people.

In short, our study indicates that there has been a significant disturbance of the "Cake of custom" (to use Walter Bagehot's phrase) and that a new dynamism seems to be entering the minds of the Indian people. This means that initiative and self-help are being generated in the country-side. This discovery—if I may be permitted to term it so—is of the utmost significance to the future of democracy in our country and for the regeneration of our people.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. People, in general, are of the opinion that many of the physical impediments to progress in the villages have been removed. There is very little doubt in the minds of the people that some of the amenities, notably (in that order), drinking-water supply, educational facilities, communication and health programmes have improved.

All sections of the people, males and females, Hindus and Muslims, young and old, high castes and low castes are convinced about the change. On the average, the weaker sections of society, the women, the backward class and the landless are less convinced about the changes. So also the older people compared to the younger.

If the thirteen Blocks are compared among themselves in the matter of improvement, Ormanjhi, Ranchi and Samastipur occupy the first three positions in educational facilities; Raneshwar, Ranchi and Bhabua in health; Barbigha, Raneshwar and Ormanjhi in case of water-supply. The predominance of the Blocks from Santhal areas may be due to their initial backwardness.

2. Not even one-third of the people think that the crop-production has improved due to Community Project programmes. If we exlcude those people who have no land, either own or rented, the percentage becomes 41. If we include only those who are making use of seeds or impliments or fertilizers provided by the Community Projects, the percentage increases to 56. Therefore, though it is true that majority of the people who are actually availing of the facilities provided by the Community Projects think that crop-production has improved,

it is not a very happy majority. In view of the fact that about one-third of the expenditure of the Community Projects is on agricultural programmes, this result is rather disappointing. There is urgent need to enquire into the reasons for this and make appropriate adjustments. One of the reasons may be lack of significant improvement in irrigational facilities without which chemical fertilizers are useless unless the lack of irrigational water is compensated by rain-water. A more planned programme of improvement in irrigational facilities and supply of fertilizers is needed.

3. Among those also who have land, about two-fifths of them are making use of chemical fertilizers supplied by the Community Projects. The percentage of people who make use of improved seeds and scientific implements is still less. The main reason for these low percentages is their non-availability. The villagers have no difficulty in introducing new methods in agriculture and cottage industries provided the people are convinced about their utility and provided they are easily available. Very few of them think that fertilizers and seeds supplied by the Community Projects are useless. A few of them did not find them so useful as to substitute what is available at home with what is supplied by the Community Projects. This is particularly so in the case of seeds. About 7 to 9 per cent of the population did not avail of it for lack of money. The absence of timely credit is indicated.

There is need to overhaul the machinery for the distribution of seeds and fertilizers, and to continue extension programmes.

The Blocks which are the headquarters of the projects always lead the rest in the matter of the use of seeds and fertilizers.

4. Non-availability is again responsible for the fact that fairly large number of people are not making use of veterinary

aids. The inadequacy of extension programme is more conspicuous in this field. A large section of the people did not either feel or know about modern animal husbandry practices. About 4 per cent of the people did not like artificial insemination of cattle.

5. Cottage industries are conspicuous by their absence in most of the villages. Very little has been done by the Community Projects to introduce new industries. Where they existed they were encouraged, but, in any case, the hope that many will find supplementary occupation in a variety of decentralized industries still remains only a pious wish. As a consequence, the employment position has not, in any way, improved, except, perhaps, a little in the case of daily labourers who get some work in the construction of roads and schools.

This is one of the fields where immediate attention is called for.

6. The outlook of the people living in Community Project areas has changed for the better in several ways. Whether this change is due to the Community Projects or time cannot be clearly answered. Except in the case of artificial insemination of cattle, the percentage of people who are against scientific methods in agriculture, animal husbandry or cottage industries is practically negligible. If some setback occurs to their agricultural enterprises, such as, pests, flood or drought, the farmers have no hesitation in going to the project officials and ask for help. Though about half the people still think that these natural calamities are due to fate, they are no longer considered as due to evil spirits. People have no hesitation to call a doctor or a veterinary expert or agricultural expert when they need them. The number of people who are afraid of approaching Government officials with their problems is decreasing fast. People no longer think that if the project

officials help them in their day to day problems in agriculture and cottage industries it is any favour shown to them but only their due.

When we come to more specific social attitudes the picture is different. Whether it is dowry system or widow remarriage, or *purdah* system, the change is not so significant. If, at all, there is any change it is in female education, and early marriage. It is too much to expect significant change in those cases within the course of three or four years. Nor does the Community Project programme attempt to deal with *purdah* and dowry directly.

There is some variation in the opinion of the people belonging to the upper and lower strata of society. The difference is negligible in the case of other characteristics.

The variability noted between Blocks is due to the fact that different social groups are living in different Blocks. The change is least in the Blocks situated in the Santhal areas.

7. People's contribution to the Community Project programme is mainly in terms of land for schools and hospitals, and voluntary labour for construction and repair of roads and buildings.

If we consider their opinion on their participation in the Community development, the position is not unsatisfactory. In all Blocks, except Samastipur and Sakra, people feel that the developments are due to Community as a whole, instead of to a few leaders in the village or due to official activity. All segments of the population, including the poor and backward class, felt that the socially backward sections of the Community were participating in the village development. Their participation was solely in the construction activities and was not in the formulation of plans and policies in the development work. People, in general, wanted their leaders to be

elected by themselves rather to be nominated by somebody else; they thought that the present leaders were in their position because of wealth, honesty and education, and not due to official support, religion or caste.

On an average, high caste people tend to answer more frequently that the improvements are due to the leadership of a few, similarly the backward class answered more frequently that official activity was responsible for the improvements. Regarding leadership, the richer class attributed it to honesty. The higher strata of society, comprising the high caste and those who have plenty of land, only think that the Community Project is a people's programme.

From the point of view of popular participation in the Community Project programmes, among the thirteen Blocks Pusa occupied the foremost position.

8. The supreme test of the success of the Community Project consists in finding out as to how far it has been successful in educating the people in the new way of life so that when the period of intensive development is over the people are not only willing to continue development work but also be capable of it. This can best be done by assessing the success of popular institutions like *Gram Panchayats* and Co-operative Societies because these are the ones which are eminently suited to fill in the vacuum created by the absence of Government agency, if and when it is withdrawn. It is gratifying to note that people in general feel that these had been successful where they have been established. But all villages are not enjoying the benefit of these institutions.

When the direct question, whether they will be able to continue development work had the Government aid been reduced, was asked, an insignificant number (28 per cent) answered that they could.

Even though the general answer is that Co-operative Societies have been successful, if we consider the weaker segments of society, the women, and the landless, their answers are different. They do not think that Co-operative Societies have been successful. Similarly most of the richer and high-caste people think that they will be able to continue development work.

The inter-Block comparison is similar. In Raneshwar, Mandar and Ormanjhi, where more backward classes live, people think that they will not be able to continue development work if the Government aid is stopped, even though popular institutions have been quite successful there.

The villagers may be able to raise local leadership and contribute land or manual labour, but where money is required in large amounts they would not be able to collect it themselves. The Government will have to provide that for a long time to come.

9. The inter-village disparity in every aspect of Community development is considerable. Some villages are highly developed and others completely left out. Whatever be the reason for that, once a village is included in the project it is the duty of the project officials to see that some development is made there.

10. A re-definition of the role of the V. L. W. and Social Education Officer is urgently needed. This can best be done by enquiring from the people what type of service these two persons could do for them. To many people the former is only a Government agent to distribute seeds and fertilizers, and the latter the person to take around visitors.

11. The Community Project should give greater attention to village housing programme, maintenance of house, personal hygiene and family planning.

12. Some points which require immediate attention by the Community Projects are:

(a) Research in finding new cottage and small-scale industries suited to different areas and establishing them in as many villages as possible.

(b) Improving the machinery for the distribution of seeds and fertilizers.

(c) Starting of Co-operative Societies and *Gram Panchayats* where there are none and helping those which are newly started.

(d) Studying the relationship between the people and the project officials especially the V. L. W., agricultural officers and Social Education Officers and defining their role in the village.

(e) Expanding the extension programmes and availability of veterinary aids.

13. The period of five years is too short to enable us to make categorical statements of any kind. However, it appears to us that a leaven has been injected into the minds of the people which seems to have disturbed the "pathetic contentment" (to use Mr. Montague's phrase) of the Indian people.

(a) Our Survey has shown the reincarnation of the Community-mindedness as indicated by the answers of the people.

(b) This Survey has also shown that a distinct breach has already been made in the citadel of fatalism and other social evils afflicting the people of our land.

(c) It has also been demonstrated that the technological changes introduced in the rural areas seem to have found a lodgement in the hearts of the people. They,

therefore, seem to be on the way to becoming permanent acquisitions of the people.

(d) In short, our study indicates that there has been a significant disturbance of the "cake of custom" (to use Walter Bagehot's phrase) and that a new dynamism seems to be entering the minds of the Indian people. This means that initiative and self-help are being generated in the country-side. This discovery, if I may be permitted to term it so, is of the utmost significance to the future of democracy in our country and for the regeneration of our people.

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Sl. No. 2. Block 3. Village 4. Religion 5. Caste 6. Occupation	**BIHAR COMMUNITY PROJECTS ATTITUDE SURVEY** **Institute of Public Administration Patna University** **Investigator** **Supervisor**	7. Annual Income 8. Age 9. Sex 10. Marital Status 11. Literacy 12. Land (amount) :— Owned Rented Nil

A. Community-mindedness

1. Due to Community Project work, which of the following have improved in your village and in what order?

	Much	Some	Nil		Much	Some	Nil
Cleanliness				Roads and lanes			
Health				Drinking-water supply			
Educational facilities				Irrigation works			
Neighbourliness				Crop-production			
Self-help and initiative				Level of living			

2. Are the improvements due to—?(mention in order of estimate)
   Community as a whole
   Leadership of a few in the village
   Official activities

3. Has there been adequate participation, in your village, of—?

		Much	Some	Nil
(a) Women	(a)			
(b) The poorer villagers	(b)			
(c) The backward classes	(c)			

4. Has anything been done in your village for—?

		Yes	No
(a) Beggars	(a)		
(b) Disabled persons	(b)		
(c) Orphans	(c)		

5. Do you think that you will be able to continue developmental work if the Government aid is reduced? Yes No
   If not, why?

6. Are your village leaders in their positions because of—?

		Office-bearers	Others
(a) Age	(a)		
(b) Caste	(b)		
(c) Wealth	(c)		
(d) Education	(d)		
(e) Official support	(e)		

7. Do you like leadership by election or nomination? Eln. Nomn.

8. How far have these been successful in your village?

		Much	Some	Nil
(a) Co-operative Society	(a)			
(b) *Nyaya Panchayat*	(b)			
(c) Village Development Advisory Council	(c)			

9. C. Ps. began as Government activity with public co-operation; now it is said to be public activity with Government co-operation. Do you agree?
Yes No

10. Is there any requirement of your village which is not included in the C. P. programme ?

B. Specific Social Attitudes:

1. Has the Community Project work in your village changed feeling against—?

		Much	Some	Nil
(a) *Purdah*	(a)			
(b) Early marriage	(b)			
(c) Widow marriage	(c)			
(d) Dowry system	(d)			
(e) Female education	(e)			
(f) Inter-caste jealousies	(f)			

2. Do you think that there is the same belief as before in your village that epidemics, droughts etc. are due to—?

		Yes	No
(a) Evil spirits	(a)		
(b) Fate	(b)		

C. Technological advantages from C. Ps. :

1. Do you make use of the following?

	Yes	Reason	No	Reason
(a) Improved seeds (amount)				
(b) Scientific Implements (names)				
(c) Chemical Fertilisers Compost manure				
(d) Artificial Insemination of cattle				
(e) Veterinary aids				

2. What improvements have been made in Cottage Industries in your village?
3. To what extent have the following helped you in agriculture or industries?

		Much	Some	Nil
(a) Demonstration	(a)			
(b) Exhibition	(b)			
(c) Audio-visual aids of new techniques and machines	(c)			

4. Is the employment position better now than before C. Ps.
Much Some Nil

APPENDIX II

FIELD STAFF

Administrative Officer	Technical Officer
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4. Shri Kaushal Kishore Prasad Sinha, 6th year (Pol. Sc.)
5. Shri Manoranjan Kumar Sinha, B.Com., Dip. in. Pub. Adm.
6. Shri Brijnandan Prasad, B.A., Dip. in. Pub. Adm.
7. Shri Krishna Kant Sinha, M.A. (Hist.)
8. Shri Parshuram Singh, 5th year student (Pol. Sc.)
9. Shri Paras Nath Tiwary, 5th year student (Pol. Sc.)
10. Shri Satya Narain Jha, 5th year student (Pol. Sc.)
11. Shri Panchanand Trivedi, 5th year student (Pol. Sc.)
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